

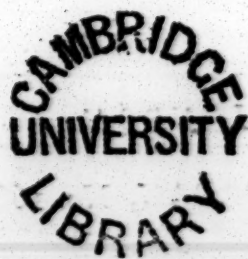
THE
6
SPEECHES
(AT LENGTH)
OF THE
Right Hon. C. J. FOX,
ON THE
SECOND AND THIRD READING
OF THE
BILL FOR INCREASING
THE
ASSESSED TAXES,
WITH
A CORRECT LIST OF THE MINORITY.

LONDON:

Printed for J. S. JORDAN, No. 166, Fleet Street.

1798.

64.3822



S P E E C H
OF THE
RIGHT HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX,

I DO not conceive that the attendance or non-attendance of any particular Member of this House can be a fit subject of observation. I agree in that respect with the Right Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, that the propriety of attending this House or absenting, is a matter that ought to rest with each individual. I have nothing to say upon that subject, further than that the same motives which induced me to absent myself for some time, are now as prevalent in my mind as ever. My opinion is now what it has long been, that the present Administration of this country have, by the unfortunate blindness of this House, by the too easy temper of the people of this country, so impaired and deranged its finances, so increased its embarrassments, but above all, so disfigured its Constitution, that no services which any individual can render by his attendance, will be sufficient to balance the mischiefs which must arise from giving countenance to an opinion, that the decisions of this House are always the just result of full discussion. In that opinion I am as firm as at any time of my life. It is not the establishment of this or of that regulation in a particular instance, of this or that modification of a particular measure, that can essentially serve the people of this country. Nothing short of a total reform of your late system, nothing short of your reverting to the true principles of our Constitution, to the popular maxims of our ancestors, can save us from utter ruin. Seeing that by my attendance I was unable

to prevail on this House to adopt these principles, I omitted to attend it. But I attend to-night in consequence of what is to me at least an important sentiment—the propriety of yielding to the request of my Constituents. This is not a moment to enlarge upon the duties of a Member of this House; but it appears to me, that to comply with the general desire of his constituents, especially in such a case as that which is now before you, is one of those duties. I have been told to-night that I have been much imposed upon in the representations of many important public events; that I have formed erroneous conclusions from them; that I in my retirement have had leisure to re-consider my former opinions; and that I, like others, may have had much to learn. Those who think they have arrived to that degree of knowledge beyond which they have nothing to learn, are in a state which, when they effect it, shew they have learnt but little. But I should hold myself much indebted to the Honourable Gentlemen who made this observation, if he would tell me in what book of ancient or modern history—in what school of admired philosophy—in what system of any admired politician since the creation of this world to the present hour, I am to find, that perseverance in a system which has led you to the brink of ruin, is the way to extricate you from your difficulty. That indeed is one of the lessons which I have yet to learn. I had no hopes of gaining for the public any advantage by my attendance; but my constituents desired me to attend, and I determined to comply. I know it is popular, in this House at least, to hold that a Member of Parliament is not particularly bound to obey his own constituents, whose opinions may be guided by local prejudices and partial interests; that he is to consider himself as the Representatives of the People at large; and that he is to act as appears to him most favourable to that enlarged view of the interest of his country. I trust that I should be no more ready than others to obey the wish of a particular class of men who happen to be my constituents, if by so doing I was convinced I obeyed them to the prejudice of the whole community, of which

I am

I am a member. But in this particular instance, as indeed most instances in which I have been concerned, I have the comfort to feel that my sentiments and those of my constituents perfectly coincide. The Hon. Gentleman says, that the moment we are here, each of us is the Representative of every man in this country; there are others who may say, as they have said, we may as well call ourselves the Representatives of any other country as of this; that indeed we ought to be virtual Representatives of the People, but that our measures have too clearly proved how capable we are of acting upon another principle.

My Constituents have desired me to attend this Bill, and if I thought my opinion more important than theirs I should have endeavoured to have reasoned with them upon the futility of that attendance: but their desire controuls my conduct. I am bound to state their case in this House. They think, and so do I, that by this Bill all the principles of our ancestors are abandoned, and a profligate contempt of property, (the protection of which was one of their favourite objects) is now manifest from the tenor of the Bill before you.

The Right Hon. Gentleman who spoke last states two grounds upon which this subject may be considered. He admits, first, that every man who opposes all means of supply except such as arise from the Funding System may fairly oppose the principle of this Bill; certainly he may. Secondly, he states that those who think that taxes should not be laid upon income, but generally upon property, may also vote for the second reading of this Bill, with a view of modifying it in such a manner as to answer the object which the principle of the Bill is supposed to have in view, namely, a tax upon property, so as to raise a considerable part of the Supplies within the year; that is to say, that any man who objects to the increase of Assessed Taxes may yet vote for the contribution of property for the service of the State. I confess that argument was perfectly new to me. Where am I

to look for the principle of this Bill? I should think to the resolutions on which it is founded. They certainly are very long and verbose, but I do not see one line in them that relates to the principle of the measure, which does not state the Assessed Taxes as their basis as well as their criterion. And yet I am told that any man who thinks that these Assessments are the worst of all possible criterion, may vote for this Bill, because it is that which has for its object a general taxation upon property. This I consider as the mere shuffling language to which Gentlemen are driven to support the infamous system on which they endeavour to load the people of this Country. The Right Hon. Gentleman says he knows of no discontent which has been expressed against the principle of this Bill as a Tax upon property; that all the objection arises from the Assessed Taxes being taken as a criterion whereby that property is to be guessed at. The objections which have hitherto made by those best capable of judging, at least most sincere in examining, namely, those who are to be called upon to pay, have been made to the Bill which is now before you, and it would be strange indeed if they did not object to a Bill which tends to the immediate destruction of their trade, the annihilation of their fortunes, and possibly the loss of the liberty of their persons. I consider their objections as pointed against the fundamental principles of the Bill. Another Hon. Gentleman seems to think that the unpopularity of the measure is no argument against it. He seems rather to think it an argument in its favour; for he says, he believes that the people would not cry out against it unless they thought it a measure effectual for the purpose of raising a large sum of money. That Hon. Gentleman seems to think the objections of the public unreasonable in this particular. I understand he is connected with commerce himself, and I therefore appeal to him, whether he would not himself claim the privilege of complaining at least, if a demand were made upon him for money which he felt he could not pay; and which by the theory of our constitution, he was not bound to pay without his own consent. Such is the
case

case of the inhabitants of the city of Westminster, and so have they instructed me to state it.

It is asked, What objection can be stated to the raising part of our supplies within the year? To that I must give shortly a very conditional answer: If any man could shew me (the possibility of which I doubt) any means of raising a large supply within the year, without a disadvantage which would overbalance it, I should be glad to comply. But here I must pause awhile, and consider the progress of the present war. We are now called upon by this measure not to burden our posterity, but to stand the brunt in our own persons. This, under certain circumstances, might be very prudent; generous it certainly would be; but I think it comes with a very ill grace from those who have contributed so much already to the burthens to be transferred to such posterity. It comes from those who have pursued a plan which tends to burthen our posterity so much, that they are afraid of pursuing it any longer: and now most generously, whether they are absolutely under the necessity of stopping, they turn round and call upon us to bear an intolerable burthen in order to support their measures. This plan proceeds from absolute necessity, not from any tenderness felt for those who are to come after us; and I cannot help thinking that its public spirit will be much respected in the world. If there was any period (and I am now begging the question merely for the sake of proceeding in the argument), but if there had been any period in which such a measure as this could have been well timed, it was at the commencement of the war. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proceeded upon something like it, as far as it can be considered as a plan to diminish future burthens immediately after the Spanish armament. Why not produce this plan at the commencement of the war? Why! because it was necessary to delude this House! because it was necessary to delude the people of this country! because it was necessary for the purposes which the Minister had then in view to treat you all like children! This was
the

the reason why this plan was not at first adopted. If it had, the delusion would have been over, and the people would have seen the abyss to which the Minister was disposed to lead them. No! that would not suit his purpose. The people would have revolted at a system so developed. So well aware was he of this, that in an early stage of this contest, he advised his Majesty to tell his Parliament it was a great consolation to him, that in the prosecution of this just and necessary War, there need not be imposed upon his people very heavy and oppressive burthens. Why did he not then come forward with the patriotic principle which he now assumes? Why! because he thought it necessary to delude you, to gain your assent to enter into the contest, by telling you the burden would be light; and now that you are involved in all its difficulties, and when he tells you you cannot retire with honour, he comes with this impost, which would have been too abominable at the onset, but which he now means to pass in the description of your affairs.

Although no great friend to novel systems of Finance, I am ready to say, that any thing which is new ought to be adopted, provided it appears to be wise; but I am ready to confess also, that I have never heard of a better system for raising money in times of difficulty than that of the Funding System. It is not the business of this day to discuss that subject. It is more immediately the question before us, what is the nature of the present measure, supposing us to disregard the Funding System altogether. I conceive this to be intended as a tax on the income of each individual, as well as it can be ascertained. It must therefore be the wish of the Minister to learn the amount of the income of each individual in the nation; this he proposes to do by examining the present Assessment. If it be not a tax on income, I should be glad to know what it is. Indeed the Right Hon. Gentleman who spoke last considers it not as a tax upon income, but a tax upon property; and calls upon all those who approve of that principle to support it, saying, that the opposition

to it proceeds from a misapprehension of its nature. Taking it then in the general view, as a tax upon property, according to the expressions of the Right Hon. Gentleman, I am led to examine its nature. I certainly do think that in that view it is a tax of very dangerous description. A tax upon property must either arise from land, from money in the funds, or from commercial gains. What would be the fair way of viewing either of these three species of property? I consider all those pursuits in life which in popular parlance are very justly denominated professions, under the head of commercial gains.

These being the different denominations of property, let us examine the principle of this Bill as it applies to each. Would you tax the land proprietor by a direct impost? No, it is not attempted. Would you tax the property of the fund-holder? No, no Minister has yet been either blind or abandoned enough to attempt it. The annuities on the funds have been secured from year to year, and Parliament stands pledged not to touch that property with taxation. So stands the law. But this Bill will tax indirectly that which no Minister has yet dared to tax in a direct manner. It has been said, that our funding system has contributed to preserve the effects of our Revolution, to preserve the interests, and keep up the spirits of this country, to enable us to thwart the ambitious views of the House of Bourbon. See whether this plan does or does not tend to the diminution of the value of that security. I am sure it is understood by my constituents, not only likely to affect such security, but also all their commercial interests. Let us suppose, for instance, that two gentlemen of equal fortune setting out in life, the one of them with his ten thousand pounds, laying it out upon mortgage, and living upon the interest of his money, which would be 500l. per annum, you would tax him, according to the principle of this Bill, for that income, and no more. Suppose the second applies his 10,000l. in commerce, and it produces to him 1000l. per annum, you will tax him at the rate 1000l. a year. What is the
real

reason of this difference? They are both equal in point of real property. But as you make income the basis of your taxation, you impose upon diligence, upon activity, and upon industry, double the weight which you lay upon him who chuses to repose indolently and supinely upon the produce of his capital. It is thus you propose to preserve in men that spirit by which this country has been distinguished from other nations. Idleness is favoured, diligence discouraged!—a principle so detestable that I could not have conceived it possible to enter into the mind of any man acquainted with the springs of human action. You call this, in another view, a tax upon luxury. Is a house a luxury? In the case of a multitude of my constituents, it neither is, nor can be so considered. You say, that where a man contributes largely to the payment of Assessed Taxes, he gives evidence of wealth. What you consider as evidence of his wealth are nothing more than the implements of the trade by which he exists. There are many, especially among my constituents, whose constant custom it is to let lodgings. They are objects of the present Bill. I know you may say, I dare say you will, that they shall be relieved by provisions, which are to be adopted in the Committee. You pretend to something like a provision to those who let furnished houses. Let us suppose that a tradesman who pays a great rent for his house, such as would induce you, by the present plan, to consider him as a man of 1000*l.* a year income; his next door neighbour may be a private gentleman, whose real income is 2000*l.* a year, but who, by choice or accident, inhabits a house of much inferior value; he will, by this tax, have a lighter impost than the tradesman. This is only one of the subjects of complaint against this Bill. With respect to those who have ready furnished houses, I understand they will be liable to the full extent of this tax; and that, whether they be tradesmen or gentlemen, the one living upon a certain, the other upon an uncertain income, will make no difference; whereas it is most clear and manifest that the one lives upon a fortune, the amount of which he knows, and the other embarks the little capital he

is able to collect in order to furnish a house, and to take the chance of subsisting upon the fruits of it. I should like to be made acquainted with the justice and the equity of a Bill which confounds the distinction between these cases. I am told indeed, that with regard to those who take furnished houses from their landlords, the occupiers are made answerable to Government for this Assessment, but that, under certain modifications, they are to call on their landlords to defray the expence of it, which, if the landlord refuses to pay, they are permitted to recover by means of an action at law. A very pleasant, a very certain, and a very concise remedy, especially as it may frequently happen that the landlord may not be forthcoming to answer this exigency of the State, but ~~who~~ may very legally empower another person to receive his rent. I know that remedies may be inserted in the present Bill, to protect those that let lodgings in houses furnished by themselves: I dare say they will be much of the same complexion with that relief which is offered to those who take furnished houses, and it will have much the same efficacy. But to try the merits of the Bill by another test—If you think horses, or dogs, or male-servants, fair tests of opulence, in God's name how can any housekeeper in Westminster or London, or the Borough of Southwark, or any other considerable town, be fairly assessed? Is it possible to take any such criterion as the test of wealth in a populous place? It is quite impossible that it should enter into the mind of any man who governs his decisions by reason to think so; and I am much surprised that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have taken advice so gross as that which leads him to blunder upon the principle of the present Bill. He says, "here are horses, they are to be considered as articles of luxury." They are so, generally speaking, to Members of this House, to which, however, there are some exceptions. They are by no means to be considered as articles of luxury to merchants, or to traders, whose businesses are considerable or extensive, for many of them necessarily employ riders in the course of their commercial dealings. There are many

others to whom horses are absolutely necessary. Medical men, who are compelled to go from place to place in the course of their profession, have occasion for horses; as well as many others whose cases it is not necessary for me to mention. I say, therefore, that this Bill proceeds upon a principle which, in every view of it, is vicious as far as I have hitherto considered it. But this is not all; you are called upon to regulate your future exactions, not by the future prudence of men, which would be a fair rule of impost in certain cases, but by the most unjust, the most unreasonable, the most iniquitous rule that can be possibly adopted—that of the past expenditure of men. A man may have lived improvidently or imprudently, but who from experience finds it wise to contract his expences. By this Bill you allow him no chance of retrieving his fortune by that prudence which is the effect of his experience. You do not allow a man the benefit which ought to be the result of a long and prudent life. Let us suppose, for instance, that a man who, by his industry and frugality in life, or who is possessed of a competent fortune from his parents, residing in the country, should wish to come to London for a season with his family; from the short stay he intends to make, it may not possibly be a great object with him what his expences are. He wishes to shew his wife and daughters the gaiety of the town; he conducts them to places of public amusement; and determines to retire into the country again, to enjoy his rural amusements. This he might have done at any time previous to this Bill, without any other expence than such as he expected to attend his excursion to, stay in, and return from the metropolis. But if he take such an excursion in the year 1797, woe be to him, to his wife, to his children, and to all those who are most dear to him; for he is not only to pay for the expence of that excursion, but the expences of that excursion are to be estimated according to the assessment which is made upon him in that day of his levity, and is to be called the test by which his ability to serve the State is to be estimated. This is said, I know it is, only to be a temporary measure. It would be extravagant.

travagant to consider it as an impost for life. Upon that, a word or two by and by. I say he is settled by this with a large, a heavy, an enormous, an unjust, an inequitable impost. This mode of calling upon men for future exertions in the service of the State is too iniquitous to bear the test of one moment's reflection. This principle of injustice reminds me of the illustration which Sterne gives of the violent extortion of the ancient Government of France. The case is exactly in point. When at Lyons, Yorick resolved to change his mode of travelling, and sail down the Rhine instead of going post. The Post-master, however, applied to him for six livres, six sous, as the price of his next post. "But I do not intend to travel post," said Yorick. "You may, if you please," replied the Post-master. "But I do not please," said Yorick—"I mean to go by water."—"That is no matter," said the Post-master—"you must pay for the next post, whether you have changed your mind or not." And, said Mr. Fox, here the word *principle* or *spirit* was used as they are always used, to sanctify injustice; for, says the Post-master—"The spirit of the impost is, that the *Grand Monarque* shall not suffer by your *fickleness*." Charged he was, and obliged to pay.

So it is with the present tax; for all the people who have paid assessments in this country are called upon for great and additional assessments, which they must pay, or which must rather be wrested from them by distraining upon their goods, not upon a computation of their future ability, nor in prospect of their future views, but in consequence of their former expenditure, whether wisely or imprudently occasioned. By this plan it is in vain that a man's prudence is called into regulate his circumstances. Let us consider this as applicable to persons in trade, as distinguished from those who possess permanent and specific incomes. A man in trade may say, that the last year was a good one, and therefore he kept his one-horse chaise, but whether he should continue it must depend upon circumstances; that he governed his expenditure prudently by the fluctuation of his circumstances, and

and therefore, if his trade was worse this year than it was the last, he would set aside his one-horse chaise and many other conveniences. But by the principle of this Bill you do not allow him to do so, and you add a mockery and insult to an injury, by telling him that you will call upon him to support the exigencies of the State according to his establishment as it appears by a former assessment, and you tell him that he shall pay hereafter triple what he formerly did, and this you intend as a compliment to his growing wealth as a tradesman. But it seems there is to be some relief in this Bill to those who are over-rated. They are to have abatements in proportion as they shall prove they are assessed beyond their income. But how is this abatement to take place? By the disclosure of all the private affairs of a man in trade—a mode of relief which, if it deserves the name, is as intolerable as the grievance. Take any tradesman, a watch-maker for instance, he would tell you that his income, prior to the last impost upon watches, was much superior to what it is now. That must be the case with every other man in trade, especially as he does not know how he may be taxed hereafter. I am the more supported in this part of my argument, when I refer to the future prospect of the Minister, for he tells us that a very considerable part of the Ways and Means are yet to come. How therefore it is possible for a tradesman, without knowing what the future subjects of taxation are to be, to guess at his future income? Under such considerations, the idea of calling upon a tradesman to guess at his future income is the most horribly unjust proceeding that ever could be devised by any Minister of State. It is stated by a Noble Lord, that this Tax will necessarily fall heavy upon the middling class, because, generally speaking, they consume articles which partake of the double quality of luxuries of life and necessities. To which I must answer, that it is a grievance to any class of men, particularly so to those whose incomes are limited to a certain amount, not to have the benefit which generally arises from a prudent diminution of expences; It is allowing them no advantage

tage

I can see no advantage in a man who does a large speculation in stock and without an adequate capital should be unwilling to disclose their accounts, but

tage from any economy, they might be disposed to adopt; and it is exposing them, notwithstanding all disposition to economy, to utter ruin. It is not what the tradesmen will have to pay to the Assessment in direct contribution, but what he will have to suffer in diminished trade; for by the attack on all the classes of Gentlemen, you drive them to privations which are ruinous to trade. They may economise; they may drink less wine; they may indulge less in the comforts that are particularly dear or habitual to them; but this evil, great though it is, is little in comparison of the mischief it will do to trade. It will, however, introduce new manners and habits among us; and I will fairly say, that I am not for confounding the ranks of society. This is one of the evils, with which this measure is pregnant. No act of the Directory ever did so much to confound the ranks of mankind as this measure will do. It will, out of the race of Gentlemen, create two orders—princes and beggars. All the body of middle-gentlemen will be reduced to beggary, for it is in vain to say that it is to be considered as a single or a solitary exertion. It is announced for two years and a quarter, but who will say that it is to close there? Who will say that we have any near prospect of Peace, or that this is likely to give us a Peace? A tenth of the income is the nominal amount of the Assessment; But in this the Assessment is proportionate in name, not in substance; and there is no equality in its burthen on the people. The Gentleman of 1000l. a year, for instance, who has to pay 100l. a year, is much more severely taxed than the man of 10,000l. a year who has to pay 1000l. A very little reflection will prove to Gentlemen that the one case is infinitely more severe than the other. But whatever may be the hardships which it may bring on Gentlemen, they are nothing, I repeat it, in comparison of its effects on the commercial part of the community. To Gentlemen it may operate to retrenchment, and to the privation of indulgencies; but to the Trader it is ruin. The ostentation of the best race of Gentlemen may subside, and the young men may be taught more prudent habits; but

but this very retrenchment will be fatal to trade, and fatal also to the existing revenues. Commercial people have no refuge. They cannot retrench, for they do not now indulge. By every account, which I have been able to collect, by the report of every person whom I have seen, and by the whole tenor of the meetings of my Constituents, I find that men of all descriptions, and whatever be their party feelings, unite in abhorrence of the principle and tendency of this Bill. They all object to the principle, because the Assessed Taxes are not merely not a just criterion of wealth, but the worst and most fallacious that could be devised—for in every part of this metropolis, so fatal has been the disastrous war in which we are involved, that the Assessed Taxes are now with the greatest difficulty collected. They are either in arrear, or postponed, or the goods of the unhappy persons are regularly distrained; and they all unite in declaring, not merely against the inexperience, but against the total impracticability of forcing the receipt; this is not the opinion of one district, or of one party, but it is the general opinion of every part of the people who have had time to examine the provisions of the Bill; and really it will be a singular thing, if the House should oppose themselves to the universal voice of the kingdom. Gentlemen seem to forget that we affect at least to call ourselves the Representatives of the People. I know that we are no such thing, but we affect to call ourselves so. Yet in this House only fifteen Gentlemen could be found to vote against a measure upon which, out of that House, there was not merely a majority, but an unanimity of dissent. Ministers, in this instance, cannot plead their subterfuge, that it is the mere cry of a party. It is no such thing. Unanimous disapprobation has come from the most extraordinary places. Even the Common Council has been unanimous. There are but two sorts of Representation—actual and virtual. You cannot pretend to call yourselves the actual Representatives of the People, but you say you are the virtual—Prove yourselves so, then, by obeying their united voice. I hope and trust that you will

will come round, and shew yourselves, in some degree, entitled to the name of virtual Representatives. I will fairly tell you, that even if you were to do so, I should not consider it as a sufficient proof that you are even the true virtual Representatives of the People, unless I see you also sympathize with the People. You must make common cause with them. You must invite them to sacrifices by your own example—You must lead the way. I remember an Hon. Member, now no more, who had the happy art of mixing argument with pleasantry in a way that was never excelled. Mr. Burke illustrated this principle by a story very much in point. A French Regiment, in speaking of an Old Colonel whom they had lost, and of a new one that had succeeded him, extolled the first to the skies—"What particular reason have you for your ardent affection for the old Colonel, rather than the new?" said a person to them. "We have no other reason (said they) than this—the old Colonel always said, *Allons, mes enfans!* The new Colonel says, *Allez, mes enfans!*" This was indeed a striking contrast; and just in this manner I aver we ought to act towards the People. We ought not to say to them, "Go, make sacrifices!"—but, "Let us make sacrifices." To rouse the energy of the People, let us hear of the sacrifice of the Crown. It is from the highest place that the example ought to be given. It will animate and cheer the heart of the Kingdom.

"Solamen miseris socios habuisse laborum."

When men are called on to give up their pleasures, whatever they may be, whether of horses or gardens, it is but reasonable that they should see the Crown participating in the sacrifice. But when, instead of this, we see only that new patronage is to be obtained out of the levying of 14 millions in this way, we must feel that these are bad symptoms, and that there is no common cause in the exertions we are called upon to make; and we are made to believe that there is something in this war which makes it unfit for all such examples to be given. An Honourable Gentleman

tleman (Mr. Dundas) says, that expenditure will not be diminished on account of this Tax—it will only change hands—great sums will be wanted, he says, to clothe and to maintain the army. I wish the House to mark the expression—I certainly believe him—great sums will go to the army. But is that any consolation to me? If 200l. is to be taken out of my pocket, what care I to whom it is to be paid? But this very argument is, and ought to be, an object of just and serious alarm to the nation; for while these enormous sums are to be paid into the hands of Government, it becomes almost the sole consumer. Let us examine the fact. One tenth of the expenditure of the whole kingdom is estimated at 7 millions. That makes the total expenditure 70 millions; but perhaps, as this is not the just test, and that there may be evasion, the total expenditure may be 100,000,000l. a year during this war. If, then, it be true that the expences of the war are so essential to revenue, what a prospect for us when this source of revenue shall be cut off! The Hon. Gentleman, in speaking of a pledge, is extremely desirous of overlooking and explaining away his own. He is not willing to remember the emphatical pledge that he gave, never to make peace with the Jacobin Government of France. What can we expect from men who have, through the whole of the war, shrunk from every pledge they have ever given? It is only by their removal that the Nation can be saved from its present perilous situation. They are either fools or hypocrites who attempt to separate Ministers from their measures, or affect to think that our affairs can be retrieved in their hands. The Country must take its fate, if they are so dull of intellect, or so infatuated as to conceive that they can be rescued from their present situation by the imbecility that brought them into it. We are called upon to make this dreadful sacrifice in order to terrify France! We are to give up 7,000,000l. in one year, in addition to all our other burdens, to shew to France that we have what their Poet calls *l'embarras des richesses*. Terrify France! What, by shewing that we are forced to abandon the funded system, which had supported up through so many difficulties, because

we dare no longer persist in it?—Terrify France—by an exaction which will not be paid, which will convulse the country from one end to the other, or which, if it were possible to harbour the frantic idea of its possibility, would certainly paralyze all our future operations, and lay us helpless at their feet! But is it not too much to call for unanimity in the further prosecution of this war? They whose incapacity has been proved by a series of the most unvaried disasters, call for unanimity!

Can their late acts, their persecutions, their violences in England and Scotland, and still more so in Ireland, delude the people of France into an idea that they have the hearts of the country with them? Take the converse of the proposition. Would not the Ministers of the Crown deride a declaration from the Directory, in which, if a La Vendee was still raging in France or Ireland now, they still talked of possessing the unanimous sentiments of the people. The treatment of Ireland was such as to harrow up the soul—it was shocking to the heart, to think that a nation of brothers was thus to be trampled on like the most remote colony of conquered strangers; and it was monstrous to hear the Minister talk of wielding Ireland as a weapon of force; Ireland which he was now holding himself under a military hand! The Honourable Gentleman takes it amiss that my Honourable Friend should say, that the whole contest is about nine or ten worthless men who are our Ministers: and yet, can any man question the truth of the assertion who has observed their manners? During the whole course of our misfortunes they have not failed in their sole undivided object—in amassing for themselves and followers, Places, Pensions, Peerages, and Honours. But what is the true and only ground of Unanimity? In the support of a Minister, confidence in the rectitude of his system, and in his capacity for carrying it into effect. Can they expect this Unanimity? Review their grounds of the war, the Scheldt, Flanders, the Decree of the 19th of November, &c. have they not given up every one of these motives, as well as all that followed them, and their ta-

lents were now employed in explaining away the declarations they had made. They could not, however, so easily explain away the quotation that they made from Virgil. It stood on record:

——— potuit quæ plurima Virtus
Esse fuit, toto certatum est Corpore regni.

They first held out to us the tempting occasion of attacking France, united with all Europe. Year after year their object changed, as well as their temptation—the brink of bankruptcy—ruined finances—distracted country—reign of terror insupportable—reign of terror at an end, and consequently the vigour it created—all in their turn were the baits they held out, and all as they failed made way for new delusions. Every thing was to be effected by our Allies; and accordingly four millions one year, two millions another, and two millions sent by stealth in the third, were declared to be the cheapest way of carrying on the war—Now we are cut off from this cheap mode of defence. I was alarmed for the consequence; since being cut off from this cheapest mode, I feared we must be forced to take more extravagant means; but here I was happily disappointed; for this relief from the Emperor has been accompanied by lowering our Army and Navy at home.—Where he has failed, therefore, he has gained. Again—he said that there was no way of supporting the Bank but by sending money to the Emperor: he did send it—and the Bank flopt! He is now prevented from sending any more money to the Emperor; and I understand that the paper of the Bank is in better credit than it was! In the same manner every declaration that he has ever made has failed him; but none so lamentably as in his Finance.—He has uniformly in each December stated the expence of the year millions under what it has turned out to be;—and yet he calls for unanimity! He can expect no unanimity; and in truth there is no remedy for our evils, but Peace. And this is not all:—we must have peace and repose, not merely by the change of Ministers and their condign punishment, but by a thorough

rough change and reform in the system which has brought us to this ruin, by a return to the principles of liberty, not of power. Without this there could be no preservation for this country. I feel it as my most solemn duty to speak out. Unless Ireland is instantly conciliated, and brought back to the enjoyment of its genuine rights and communion in the Constitution; unless Scotland is also reconciled; unless all the three kingdoms are restored to the blessings of that peace and perfect freedom of which they have been deprived, there can be no chance for the country to rise out of her present misfortunes; nor until you accomplish this can you hope ever for peace, because until you obtain this you cannot speak to France with the power of union; nor can you delude the Directory with the boast of strength while they see you alienating by persecution every part of the empire.

In the argument which I have taken the liberty to trouble you with, I have not wandered from the particular measure of the day, because it is inseparable from the causes that have given rise to it. This is no common tax; and it is our duty, on a question of such dreadful import, to follow the wise practice of our ancestors—to consult our constituents. Do not let us delude ourselves by the idea that there is no danger. It is imminent. No human being can calculate the horrors to which the measure may give rise. I deprecate rashness. I know that men are fond of talking of the theoretical blessings of our Constitution—I say, that unless you make the people feel the practical blessings, you do nothing. Talk of the Jacobin principles of the French Directory! No man has made so many Jacobins as the Right Honourable Gentleman; and if this measure is to be persevered in, there is no saying to what we shall be driven. The tax may be put under the management of the military. It cannot be collected—what comes next?—They may distrain; and when they have seized on our beds and chairs, they may take our persons—*Contre opes, primum, et post in corpora sevir*. Is such a measure to be hurried through this House? I am guilty of no exaggeration. I am sure that if time
be

be given, you will have from all the great towns, from Bristol, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, and elsewhere, remonstrances as strong as those you have seen from the city of London, from my Constituents, and from the Borough of Southwark. I shudder at the consequences if you persist. They may be dreadful. It is only by a quick return to the genuine principles of our ancestors that we can be safe. If we do not, I can only say, that "the days of these kingdoms are numbered, and that their ruin is not distant."—The Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Dundas) has said, that "if there were men who could give peace to the country, without throwing things into confusion, the present Ministers would be the basest of mankind if they did not yield and make way for them." If there are any men who feel themselves capable of restoring peace to these kingdoms, without a change of system, or restoring the Constitution to its vigour, I can only say they are more sanguine than I am. I can speak without any personal motive on the subject, for I publicly declare, that I never will have a seat, high or low, in any Administration, until public opinion shall have decided for a thorough and perfect Reform of all our abuses, and for a direct return to the genuine principles of the British Constitution. If there are men bold and sanguine enough to think that they can not only procure peace but tranquillize the country without this, let them try it—but I will make no part in any such Administration.

SPEECH of the Rt. Hon. C. J. FOX,

ON THE

THIRD READING of the NEW ASSESSED TAX BILL.

LATE, Sir, as the hour is, I confess I am sorry to rise before I have heard the whole of the charges to be preferred against me. The Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) who has just sat down prefaced the principal part of his speech with something extremely singular. He lamented the mischiefs arising from debates generating into party disputes. He thinks we lead to party disputes, because we frequently arraign the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers. The Honourable Gentleman, however, thinks himself justified in arraigning the conduct, not of his Majesty's Ministers, not of the measures of the Executive Government, but in arraigning the conduct of individuals, whom he chuses to suppose to be candidates for office. Does he know that we are candidates? Is he sure that any temptation of office would be such as we should accept of? Why is he so certain that this is a justifiable ground for selecting individuals for attack, rather than for adverting to the Bill which he knows he cannot support, or to the circumstances in which the country is placed? But the Honourable Gentleman chuses to suppose we are candidates for office. I do not know whether he is or not—He has no right to suppose that we are. If from any intimate connection or acquaintance with us, he could dive into our sentiments, he would find himself as much mistaken upon the views of individuals, whom he is not in confidence with, as I believe he is upon the sentiments of the People?—But the Honourable Gentleman is quite at his ease to say, that we are out of the public opinion. Who commissioned him to say so?

Sir, I am the Representative of a city of the first importance in the country, and certainly of one that is most harrassed by the Bill? I am sure, Sir, I am always unwilling to make myself the subject of discussion: but does he mean to say that that city has an ill opinion of me? Does he collect his ideas from any meetings that have been held? Will he try it with me? Will he presume to say, that there is any Member in this House who possesses more the affections of his Constituents, or who has more the happiness of acting cordially with them than myself? But it is easy for a person of fancied authority to suppose that he has a right to dictate to the People of England

E

what

what ought to be their sentiments. Does the Honourable Gentleman see this ill opinion in the expressions of the Public?—Sir, I do not wish to enter particularly into this part of the subject; but it furnishes *additional proof of this House not being the real Representative of the People*. Some Gentlemen say, that the Administration are in possession of the general confidence of the People; and yet how many petitions have been presented for their immediate dismissal? I have had the honour to attend his Majesty's Levee oftner, perhaps, than I may do, though certainly I shall always feel it my duty to pay my personal respects to my Sovereign: but I say, Sir, I have been there too often not to give a flat contradiction to that assertion. But I suppose I shall be told, 'Oh, these petitions, we don't mind them?' If then we are come to this, if, after having checked the power of petitioning, and cramping the Bill of Rights; if, I say, under these difficulties men come and speak their opinions and you say, 'we don't mind them,' what is left for the Public? We are a Government of King, Lords, and Commons, but without any Public. But this is now familiar language.

A City Member on a former Debate said, with regard to his Constituents, that he believed they would think the dismissal of His Majesty's Ministers, at the present moment, a general misfortune. Who are his Constituents? The City of London, that is, the Livery of London, who have petitioned for the dismissal of those Ministers, who have instructed him to oppose this Bill, and to whom at the beginning of a Parliament he does not think fit to attend, though at the end of one he alters his conduct; I say, Sir, if he sees this, and then says, whatever the petition declares, he knows the opinion of his Constituents better than they do; what is this but following up and completing the blow by rendering petitions as *contemptible* as they are *inefficacious*? Not so the petitions in 1784—not so when they came in aid of the Crown—not so when they came in aid of the prerogative against the privileges of Parliament. But what doctrine have we learnt from this? We have learnt that the Country is fast approaching to that state in which the voice of the Crown will be every thing, and the voice of the People nothing. I protest, Sir, I find it difficult to account for the turn which the debate has taken, and for those personalities which have been levelled against me by the Honourable Gentleman. In no other way can I account for them but by that Gentleman's lending himself to be an instrument to divert the public attention from the Bill, and from this violent attack upon property, to some supposed designs in me, with about as much justice as he encouraged the people of the country, in 1784, to believe

believe that it was my intention to sit upon the Throne. But he who complains of party disputes makes every thing party and personal; and I must say, that I do not know one man who allows himself to encourage opinions in others which he knows not to be true, or who consents to be such a party instrument as that Honourable Gentleman. He says, those who wish to produce the worst horrors that have taken place in France, and which, he adds, we all deplore, or all *say* we deplore, insinuating thereby that there are men who *only say* they deplore what they really rejoice at; does he think that I, does he think that any Gentleman who sits on this Bench, nay, does he think that there is any man, any where, who does not sincerely deplore them. Sir, the Honourable Gentleman believes no such thing; and not believing it, I say he lends himself a little too much when he means to make such an insinuation. Upon that general subject it is not my intention to say much; but Sir, a word fell from the Learned Gentleman who spoke last night, which afforded me much satisfaction. Speaking of the reign of Charles the First, he said, that that Parliament, which in many things acted right, did afterwards, and soon afterwards, commit acts of unjustifiable violence. That is the way in which he speaks coolly of the events of the last century. Why may he not think that men may also speak coolly of occurrences less remote? Why may not such an opinion be entertained of the events of this century? If the Honourable and Learned Gentleman had used the same language as he used last night to the hot cavaliers in Charles the Second's reign, would he not have been told, 'What, you approve of all the horrors committed in those times!' As he would have been treated unjustly then, why may he not suppose that they who hold the same language now may be equally unjust; yet because a person might think that good would arise from a change of affairs in France, he is to be considered as approving of all the consequences to which such a change gave rise. But, Sir, the difference is, that when we speak of the last century, and of remote events, we do not speak with such violence as of the present century, and of events that have recently occurred.

I have now to complain a little of another Learned Gentleman, (Mr. Percival) with respect to the time of his speech. He chose to employ much of that speech, a very ingenious one I allow it was, upon what occurred on a former day. Sir, it is never my wish to call Gentlemen to order; and indeed I know that there are occasions in which order must give way to things of greater importance. If, however, what I said on a former day appeared to that Gentleman to be so ambiguous, why did he

not disclose his sentiments then? Why did he wait three weeks to point an epigram, and to sharpen a parenthesis, when, perhaps, the precise words I used might not have been remembered? Sir, if such a mode of conduct be blameable in any one, it is much more blameable in that Gentleman: he adverted to what was said by an Honourable Baronet, and said distinctly, that he adverted to him though he was absent, because if he had waited to see him in the House again, God knows whether he might see him again till next Session. Why was he not influenced by the same feeling with respect to me? Why, when I used those words which he is pleased to call ambiguous, three weeks ago, why did he not remark upon them then, fearing that I might not be present in the House myself till next Session? And now I come to those formidable words.

Upon a former debate I was accused of being an egotist.—Sir, an Honourable Gentleman who had spoken before me, had supposed the reason why persons wished for the dismissal of the present Ministers was from whim or caprice, or fancy to others, I thought myself called upon then, especially as one Honourable Gentleman considered me as advertising for a piece, to declare, *that unless a radical Reform of Parliament and of Abuses, and a fundamental change in the system took place, I for one could never form part of any Administration.* The Learned Gentleman thinks me dexterous in explaining away my words. He thinks so, perhaps, because a person who has been so often misrepresented must be supposed to be accustomed to explaining. But this is an art in which Honourable Gentlemen opposite to me are infinitely superior; and though I am an older man than they, yet the Learned Gentleman must think me less dexterous in it than men who are younger. But these words were explained by me. I said that I meant a Reform of Parliament, and of the abuses that had crept into the system. Of increasing power to protecting liberty. He now supposed these to be ambiguous words. I mean to say, that the system of abridging the power of the People ought to be reversed, and that the principle should be to diminish the power of the Crown, and to increase that of the People. But these, it seems, were ambiguous words. Little did I think, Sir, that I should be subject to the reproach of ambiguity. I rather imagined myself more liable to the charge of plagiarism from greater men than myself—I mean what Lord Chatham did when he said, we must have a change of Councils and of Counsellors, from a conviction of past errors. I meant what the late Lord Camelford did, when he opposed the granting a supply in time of war, and when we were threatened with an invasion; not as now from an inferior

ferior fleet, but from a superior one! What did he say then? He said, 'I will not vote a supply now.' What! would you suffer the French to invade us? 'No; but I will not vote a supply to his Majesty, till a pledge is given of a change of Ministers and Measures.' This speech of the Noble Earl has been printed, as if it had been the speech of the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite to me; it was not his, but the speech of Mr. Thomas Pitt, afterwards Lord Camelford. I know not whether the Right Honourable Gentleman spoke at all upon that occasion, but we who did speak had his approbation, and I believe the concurrence of his vote.—I am sure that he did not think Lord Camelford a dangerous man, for he made him a Peer, at the time when Peers were *not made by dozens*, and when it *was an honour* to be raised to the Peerage. That was the language of Lord Camelford. This is my language.

But it might be said, this language might be proper then, but is not now; for Ministers behaved ill in the conduct of the American War, but well in the conduct of the present. If I, however, have formed a different opinion, why is it dangerous or culpable in me to express it? Has resisting the grant of supply at the time to which I have alluded, delivered the Country up to France, Spain, and Holland? No, Sir! but we knew that resisting a supply was doing that which must produce a change, and that it was in fact voting the best supply to his Majesty.

But I feel that I am partly guilty of plagiarism, perhaps more guilty of repetition. We are all apt to repeat our former sentiments, and as we grow older, that habit encreases upon us.—But I plead guilty to the charge—and declare, that in ten or twenty times, I have used precisely the same words, except that I have not made use of the words, Reform in Parliament.—Upon that let us consider, that what has been said so often without giving alarm, is not what is at present to alarm the People; but what has been said more recently? A Reform in Parliament. *There is the sore.* As long as I confined myself to the stating the necessity of a reform of abuses, of a change of measures, and of systems, so long I might be answered, and perhaps blamed, till I added the words—Reform in Parliament. But it is policy of those Gentlemen to say, that it is not to that which they particularly object. Yet what is the reason why it is so alarming at this moment? In an Address to his Majesty, which I moved in the month of May 1796, I prayed for a complete and *radical* change of Councils and System. [*Mr. Fox here read the Address from the Journals of the House.*]

I am not now justifying the Address: I am only stating that there

there must be some reason why those words were not at that time taken up as so alarming. It is easy to find a cause. Because the Right Honourable Gentleman finds himself in a state of difficulty—because he finds a general odium prevailing against this Bill; because he finds himself in danger, he endeavours to pervert some words of mine, knowing that nothing but the idea of dangerous designs in others can make him at all tolerable or endurable to the country. But, it seems, I must explain my words: it so happens that I did in the former debate explain them. I said that what I wished was, that the Constitution should be restored to its former basis, and the People to that weight which they had before the commencement of the American war. The Right Honourable Gentleman who had not then thought of alarming the People with these words, said with a kind of witticism, ‘and all this to keep things as they are!’ What I said was, that I wished for a reform, not to keep things as they *are*, but as they *were*. That was what I stated both in my speech and in the explanation, and now I hope that the Learned Gentleman will not conceive that his speech has forced this from me, but that mine will produce the effect upon him of inducing him to listen to explanations in future.

I see now a stress laid upon the word *radical*. Having supported a specific Reform, moved by my Honourable Friend, Mr. Grey, I did not think it necessary to avoid the use of the word *radical*, merely because it had been used by other persons with different views; but that the Learned Gentleman thinks that radically and fundamentally are to be construed literally. Do I wish to destroy the root of the Constitution? No, Sir; but the root of our grievances.—Do I wish to undermine the foundations of the Monarchy? No—but to undermine the foundation of that system which has brought this Country to its present deplorable situation. Are there Gentlemen here who have forgotten all the politics of former times? Are there not Members of the Cabinet who will say, that I do not speak ambiguously when I speak of destroying the system that produced the American War. I rather used the word from prejudice to those times. Would Mr. Burke, the author of the Enquiry into the Causes of the present Discontents, have thought the wish for a change of system an ambiguity. It was a term used by all of us. The whole of our politics were directed against it. Though we disapproved of the American War, we did not consider that as the grand evil, but as the effect of it. Those Gentlemen could not think the events of the year 1784 tended to destroy it. But they imagined when the Revolution in France took place that it was necessary to attend to that alone. The only addition, therefore,

fore, that I made to the expressions used on former occasions, was the addition of the words, 'a Reform in Parliament;' and though that has been kept behind by Gentlemen, yet it is more in their minds than all the rest. It may be said to me, why have you who have always been a friend to Reform, yet did not think it so indispensably necessary; why have you, who have so often talked of radical reform alone, why do you bring forward the question of Parliamentary Reform now? My opinion, Sir, on that, though it was desirable, yet that in the then state of the country it did not appear to be so indispensable. The Right Honourable Gentleman opposite to me was of a different opinion: he stated, that without a Reform in Parliament no good Administration could be had, and with it no bad Administration will be successful. Such was that Gentleman's opinion: he thought not only that a change of Ministers was necessary; but *mark this*, that a Reform in Parliament was also necessary. What was it to secure the Country against? Against vague dangers? The Right Honourable Gentleman had too much sense to talk in that way; what he alluded to was, that Reform in Parliament was necessary to preserve the Country against the repetition of such calamities as the American War. The House must be convinced that it is for want of that reform we have fallen into an evil similar but infinitely greater than that War. Sir, there are some points of resemblance between those two evils, though they are so different in point of magnitude.—What was the general description of that War? That it was once for the support of Power against Liberty, real or pretended. In the commencement that War was popular, the calamities of it at length rendered it otherwise; but this House for some time longer supported it.

There was another circumstance,—that War produced in Ireland a situation of affairs which led some persons to say would dismember that kingdom from this. What has been the case of this War? It is a war, you say, against pretended Liberty. It was made popular for some time; but when the People grew tired of it, the House of Commons still continued to support it. In Ireland too it has produced a crisis. The mischiefs apprehended in the American War were avoided by conciliation—in this they have been aggravated by conciliation held out and then broken, which has led to a necessity, as they say, of employing such military force as has made it rather a diversion for the enemy than a succour to Great Britain. I cannot help thinking that the mediations of the Right Honourable Gentleman have been fully confirmed, and that without reform we can have no security against the recurrence of similar evils.

The

The Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, and another Honourable Gentleman who spoke earlier, attacked the Secession. The present Secession, say they, was in the time of difficulty, of war, of menaces, of invasion. There, fortunately, I can produce authority. The House will remember, that in 1777, the Marquis of Rockingham, whose name I must always reverence and love, and whose worth, as is often the case, is more felt by the events that have occurred since his death, the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord John Cavendish, Sir George Saville, Mr Burke, and others, absented themselves in the midst of a war when taxes were to be imposed and loans to be raised. I thought their absence continued longer than I deemed prudent, and I came down to the House; but I beg, Sir, that common candour will be shewn towards me, and that what was deemed honourable in those men, will not be considered as factious in me. What were the motives for our secession? I will not tell the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last that he was the cause; but he says most of the mischiefs has been produced because we stated our opinions. If I paid much respect to his authority I should stay away. He says no; not stay away, but be silent when you are here. I will only observe in passing, that our return seemed to afford pleasure, inasmuch as it gave Gentlemen a golden opportunity for shewing their zeal for the Government. But the Honourable Gentleman says the People are dissatisfied with our absence. I must learn this from better authority; my constituents have told me differently. This, however, was a question upon which they desired my attendance.

One Honourable Gentleman says, *wittily*, we complain that Parliament neglect their duty, and we attempt to prove it by neglecting it ourselves. Sir, we do not complain that Members stay away, but that when they are here they do not do their duty. But these were not the reasons of our absence. I wish the attention of the Public to be directed to our conduct: they, I hope, will judge justly. I wish them to look at the conduct of the House of Commons, and judge whether it is a place in which we could produce any advantage: when they have so judged, I shall be obedient.

But the Honourable Gentleman says we keep our seats; we do: and I will fairly own to him, that I have as little intention of applying to the Right Honourable Gentleman for the Chiltern Hundreds as for any other place in his gift. Why? Because I do not think our vacating our seats would be productive of any good. But am I to despair of any change? It is so unprecedented a circumstance that the House shall reject that in one Session which they have approved of in the preceeding one. Upon this
subject

subject it will be proper to remark what the Honourable Gentleman says: He states, 'you stay away for a Parliamentary Reform; you do *not* wish it to be *effected through the medium of this House*.' Sir, I say I *do* wish it to be *effected by this House*. I may hope that Parliament may set an example of a reform of abuses, by passing a vote for it. The Honourable Gentleman says, you do not expect the Commons to do it: How then? By my speeches? No, Sir, but by the opinion of the People, which if expressed with unanimity, will, I trust, produce an effect upon this House. If it does not, I know not why I should continue to give any authority to the opinion that this is a House which has the power to do good by unbiassed debate. I believe that they who think the substance of the Constitution remains, and that the power of legislation does not reside in the Executive Government, do not know the *real* state of the Country. But, Sir, they who have not much respect for their Constituents, they may say that the People regret my absence. If I were to speak of the Commons at large, I wish to know whose Constituents would wish for their attendance? In speaking of the system, I own the King has a right to make Peace and War. Who doubts it? But the Commons have a right to make War impracticable. Yet all this is frittered away; every thing is interpreted to the strict letter in favour of the Crown, and every thing explained away that relates to the People, and the whole Constitution shaken from its basis.

That nothing in which my name is mentioned may be left unintroduced into this debate, the Secretary of State has adverted to a Letter from a Noble Earl (Moir). He speaks of what passed upon that occasion. Sir, of that I know just as much as is mentioned in that letter. I know that application was made by several Members to that Noble Earl, respecting a change of Ministers; who the Members were I know not; but this remark arises naturally out of the subject: that it is possible men may go on in support of Ministers, who disapprove of their conduct and wish for their removal. The Honourable Gentleman says, I might guess that if the Right Honourable Gentlemen were out of place, I should come in. Perhaps he thinks I should have said—My Lord, take care!—I support you—An Administration so formed cannot last above a Session, and then I shall come in!—I said no such thing.—I should have said, take care, my Lord, when you are forming a Ministry, that you are not forming it without some solid grounds of reform; take care that you are not going into a country not made for men of your frankness.—But, *above all*, take care that you are not brought in to put an end to this war alone; and that then the old

system be revived, and the present Ministers possibly reinstated. I might have said so. I wished for any change of Administration that should procure peace: but that in any case I would form no part unless upon a complete dereliction of those principles and systems of which I complained. Yet I think it too much to be called upon in this way. I sent no terms. Yet every man has a right to say, that it is only under such circumstances he can be of any advantage.

Sir, with respect to a Parliamentary Reform, whoever imagined that I think of a Reform, but through the Parliament, knows little of me. I detest the present Ministers. I detest the system that has been pursued of late years; but on no account do I detest it more than on this, that it has made me look upon that as possible, which previously to that system I considered as totally impossible.

What do the Honourable Gentlemen think of us? The Gentleman who spoke last says, every debate degenerates into party disputes. Does he think we wish for all the horrors that have been witnessed in France? No: but that we wish for violence. Does he think, after having taken such a part in councils, or in debate as I have, that I am ambitious of becoming a great General, of equalling Buonaparte; or like Barras, of leading an army against the Parliament. Does he think any such thing? I know there are men, who may think so of those who may not be wealthy. Does he imagine I should better my circumstances from confusion?

Aye, but then comes what has been the order of the day yesterday and to-day,—‘disappointment and envy.’ Disappointment and envy may goad men to what is contrary to the public interests and to their own. I find I am compared to Hanno; not for his abilities, but as a personification of envy. Sir, I cannot help thinking, however Gentlemen may caricature me, they will find it difficult, from my figure, to personify me as Envy—[*Laugh*—not that I like to defy the geniusses of those Gentlemen. But I am the more concerned at the comparison, because the Learned Gentleman who made it has, in former times, lived in habits of intimacy with me; and I should have thought that Hanno was not precisely that character to which he would have compared me—envy and disappointment! That I am disappointed, that I hoped for better things, and that these are serious grievances to me, I do not deny. But that I feel from any personal disappointment, I do not acknowledge.

But to return to Hanno—The Learned Gentleman was so struck with the likeness, that he pursued it to a great length. As I am the envious Hanno, who is the Hannibal the Learned Gentleman

Gentleman did not point out. There are some circumstances of resemblance; but Hannibal was the son of a General of great celebrity, and it is said he was sworn by Hamilcar, his father, to an oath of eternal hatred to Rome. Whether the Right Honourable Gentleman took such an oath against France, I know not. Hanno was not only the foe of Hannibal, but of the whole Barcine faction; all the Generals were of the blood of and related to Hannibal. I suppose I must envy the Right Honourable Gentleman the glory of the War. In the latter part of Hannibal's career, however, there is a little more resemblance. Having conducted the war against the Romans, he thought himself the most proper person to make peace; and Livy puts into his mouth as eloquent a speech as ever was made by the Right Honourable Gentleman. He found, however, that he was not so successful a negociator—yet Hannibal was sincere for Peace. He told the Senate, that they had brought the country to such a state, as to leave them no other alternative. I, says he, am not ashamed to say, *Hannibal peto pacem*.—But when we come to the other features of his character, that he was the most skilful General in war that ever appeared, is that the character of the Right Honourable Gentleman? that he had a diffident Senate ruled by Hanno, that he received scanty supplies and niggardly reinforcements; yet, that he performed greater things than almost any other man. Is that the description that belongs to the Right Honourable Gentleman?—Another feature of Hannibal's character was, that he kept up a general confederacy against Rome; is that the character of the Right Honourable Gentleman? The person whom I am said to envy, is one, who having been niggardly supplied by the Senate, has put himself next to Alexander and Phyrus, for having maintained for a length of time the greatest number of confederates against Rome; is that the character of the Right Honourable Gentleman? If I am envious, let me be said to be envious of something rational; let me be supposed to envy the Right Honourable Gentleman's emolument, and his power of bestowing places upon his friends; but let it not be supposed that I envy him *his* achievements or his glory.

It is said that we unintentionally paid a tribute to the Minister, by taking 1792 as the æra of the public prosperity. An Honourable Gentleman says, that in 1792 and 1794 we as frequently stated that he had brought this country to ruin. Is that the fact? We supported the plan of the Sinking Fund, but we had frequent disputes: we said you never had a surplus revenue of one million. Whether we were right or wrong is not now the question. But did we say that the country was

not in a flourishing state? No, Sir; and surely I must say, that it cannot be deemed very wonderful, after nine years of peace, that the finances should be in a flourishing condition. I should however think it extraordinary if I could agree with the Secretary of State, that the lowness of the funds was owing to the extended commerce of the country. The commerce of the country was never greater than from 1784 to 1792. But they say you were then opposers of the Ministers. Let the Honourable Secretary ask his Right Honourable Friend why we were?—Because we thought that his system was abhorrent to the country.—That the seeds of the French War were laid in 1784, is a point which I am clear upon. What I mean is—*that a power was given to the Crown, which made the Country depend upon Court faction.*

This War, we are told, is to be viewed separately; what we have done, and what our allies have. Was it ever before endured to be said, I did it for the best. I thought Prussia faithful: we know the event. The delusion with Austria lasted a little longer. We have heard how that power was blazoned; and who could have expected to have heard her yesterday confounded with our *most faithless allies*? That Ministers were forewarned against trusting too much to that alliance, is true; but it was attended with a Loan: what treat a Loan like a Subsidy! We went, however, upon humbler grounds. We doubted, and we must now pay in a few weeks from the money of the People of England, for the good faith of Austria, and the accredited Bank of Vienna; *yet these are only mistakes.* Is it not, however, too much that the men who have been guilty of them should still enjoy the confidence of this House. But we have done with Austria.

Do not look, we are told, at her campaigns, look at our own naval victories. Sir, no man pays more willingly a tribute of praise to our naval exertions than I do: But as an Honourable Friend of mine observed, what must be that cause to which such exertions cannot do good. I have heard that Montesquieu said, that God Almighty had created the Turks and Spaniards to shew that men might enjoy a great Empire, without being able to make it of any importance. Had he lived in these days, he might have seen as great a prodigy; he might have seen a Country in which Ministers, supported by a Howe, a St. Vincent, and a Duncan, have completely failed!

But an Honourable Gentleman when he spoke of the military, wished to speak of the Hussaring Expedition. That the military will always behave with courage, I have no doubt; but that the campaign in Flanders is a glory, it would be saying a very uncivil

uncivil thing, if I were so to state. But we got rid of that, and recalled our troops. And here it is unjust to say that we find fault with every thing. Who ever heard us complain of that measure ?

We did not say the Minister was to direct the operations of Austria, but that he was not to engage too deeply the money of this country. But while Austria was conquering, we never heard this distinction between the naval and military war.

Quod Thebæ cecidere, meum est—ille credite Lisbon,
Me tenedon, Chrysenque et Cyllan Apollinis urbes
Et Scyron cenisse—Mea concussa putate
Procubuisse solo Lyncestia magna dextra.

Much has been said on the way in which this measure has been argued. How has it been defended ? What was the greater part of the Learned Civilian's speech ? To compare the present measure with what would be the situation of the country if Buonaparte were here—I admit it. No man hates the Bill more than I do. But it would be preferable certainly to a contribution by an enemy. What, however must that Bill be, which can only be defended by a comparison with the miseries of an invasion. This is not *taxation* but *contribution*. The Honourable Gentleman has objections to the Bill, but he will let it pass. My objection to the Bill is, that it is not a *tax* but a *robbery* ! that you raise a tax on property by a criterion which is not a fair one. Is it on income, or on property, or an expenditure ? What is it ?—[*Mr. Pitt, hear ! hear !*]—I wish I could hear. A tax upon property is always difficult to be laid ; but one upon income is terrible. It is taking an accident as a criterion. The case stated by my Honourable Friend is unanswerable : he put the case of a man of 1000*l.* a year in the Long Annuities, and of a man of 1000*l.* a year in the Short Annuities. To pay their proportion to this tax, each must sell out 100*l.* and in that case the man who has 1000*l.* Short Annuities will pay thrice as much as the other.

Sir, with respect to any Tax upon the Funds, I have heard but one Gentleman encourage such an idea. Some may think we shall be reduced to that at last. I hope we never shall.—It is the fashion for to say, that we must give up a part to preserve the whole. This argument has been used with respect to the Constitution. We have given up part, and every part that has been so given up, has rendered the rest more insecure. We said the Constitution was in danger, and that danger has been increased daily. The Funds ought to be taxed in an indirect way. You cannot tax the Dividends, but by making Loans you do diminish the capital of the Funds, and that is the only fair way

way in which you can tax them. If that then is the case, does it not make it clear, that a tax on income is indispensable.

This Bill, Sir, is unjust from beginning to end. The most glaring part of it is the clause which gives to the measure a retrospective effect. It is to all intents and purposes an *ex post facto* law. A man is to be taxed this year, because he kept a carriage last year. From the circumstance of a man having kept a carriage last year, it was presumed that he had now a certain income, than which it was impossible for any thing to be more inconclusive or more unjust. Some Honourable Gentlemen admit that this is unjust, but they say a great deal of money must be had; and the Member for Lincoln has said, that although there was much inequality in this Bill, and consequently much injustice, yet he should vote for it, because he knew of no better. When a measure is to be agreed upon by this House, to take that which is not just to take, I wish to know what it can be called but a robbery?

I saw a Gentleman to-day, whose case clearly shows, among a thousand others, the monstrous injustice of this Bill. This Gentleman had kept a four-wheeled carriage which was drawn by one horse. He asked me at what time it was necessary to prove he discontinued the use of it, in order to be exempted from the duties of this Bill. I told the Gentleman I understood the day was the 10th of October last. The Gentleman told me he had laid it down before that time, and wished to have sold it, but he could not get a purchaser. I firmly believe that many Members of this House will not wonder at that. The Gentleman added, that on the 13th of October, he having an occasion to go as far as Fulham, and it being a rainy day, he took this little carriage, there being a cover to it, instead of going on horseback, and to save the expence of a hackney-coach. Thus, by this one journey to Fulham, in a rainy day, he had used this four-wheeled carriage, and must therefore pay for that ride 3*l.* a-year, for an indefinite period; for so the fact would turn out to be.

What, Sir, can this House think of the justice of such an impost as this? I wish to know whether, in point of principle, any thing that was ever adopted in France was worse than this?

Again, the case of those who have property of their parents, are liable to the most abominable oppression. Suppose a son, whose father had lived in a profuse way the year before his death, and whose expenditure was beyond the proportion of his income, the son must pay for it; for the scale of assessment was not to be taken by what the estate of the son could afford, but by what the extravagance of the father had squandered. Thus
a man

a man is made to pay, not according to his ability, but according to his misfortune; not that which is his own fault, but that misfortune which was brought upon him by the fault of another. The rich heir of a miser is protected, but the poor one is thus exposed to the most inhuman cruelty. But it has been said, in answer to this, the declaration of income will provide against all these objections. Is the House aware of the difficulties attending the declaration of income? I do not see, speaking in the abstract, why Gentlemen of fortune should have any difficulties or nicety in declaring what their incomes are; but I know they have that difficulty. I know that many Gentlemen in the country, who, in the early part of their lives, had improvidently granted annuities, which they would profit highly by paying off, even although they mortgaged their estates for that purpose, but who nevertheless continued to pay such annuities rather than mortgage their estates, because that tended to disclose their real income. I am not defending the wisdom of this practice; I am only stating it as a fact, to shew the disinclination men have to disclose their circumstances; and is it not cruel to attack their delicacy; or, if Gentlemen like it better, their prejudices, in the way proposed by this Bill, and then call such a measure a *relief*.

Again, suppose two Gentlemen, next door neighbours, each of the income of a thousand a year, the one of them living in his own house, the other giving 200*l.* a year rent for the one he occupies. Supposing the two houses to be equally assessed, they would pay unequally by this Bill; in point of fact, the one of them would have twelve hundred a year, and the other only a thousand; for the rent of the house was not to be deducted out of the income. Can this be called justice?

Sir, I will put another case—it is my own, and in my favour by this Bill; but unjustly in my favour. I rented a house in London for a while, and I afterwards bought it. I borrowed the money to pay for it, for which money I pay the yearly interest of 100*l.* that 100*l.* may be deducted out of my income, whereas, had I continued to pay the rent for the house, instead of paying the interest of the money I borrowed, I would be rated at 1200*l.* instead of 900*l.* I would not be intitled to make the deduction. Is there any justice in this case?

The truth of the matter is, the Bill provides the most monstrous inequalities, and most gross injustice in every part of it. It reminds me of what is said by Dr. Adam Smith, in his book upon the Wealth of Nations. That celebrated author complains of the inequality which small taxes fall on different classes of the community. What would he say if he was now living, and
was

was to look at the inequality of this Bill? The truth of the matter is, that the authors of this measure has already shewn a contempt for the liberty of the subject, and they very consistently follow up their plan with a contempt for property.

It is said, that the state requires great supplies. I grant it; but, Sir, are those necessities such as require great *injustice*. By this Bill, one man, in some cases, will pay triple the sum which another will pay, and yet both their incomes will be the same. It is unequal on all classes. It falls unequally on one description of poor, compared with another description of poor. It falls unequally between the rich and the rich, between the poor and the poor.

Sir, some Gentlemen in this House have affected a great deal of contempt for the opinion of shop-keepers, as to the effect which this Bill will have upon Gentlemen. But shop-keepers must *know* a great deal of Gentlemen before they will be very successful shopkeepers. I would wish to ask every Gentleman in this House, whether, at a particular season, he does not allot a certain part of his income to the payment of his tradesmen? When this Bill comes to be carried into effect, will not many Gentlemen be obliged to say, they have paid away their money for the tax, and that their tradesmen must wait for another opportunity? Perhaps some Gentlemen, as a Learned Gentleman *decently* said, imitating the language of Harry the Eighth, upon a well known occasion, 'You are brutes, and do not know these things.' Tradesmen are not such brutes as not to know, that if Gentlemen have no money they cannot pay their bills; and if they are obliged to retrench their expenditure, they will lay out less with the shop-keeper; they will diminish his profits, at the time his burthens will be increased. The shop-keepers know this already; many Gentlemen have given them information upon this subject.

But it is said, Sir, that Gentlemen who oppose this Bill have shifted their ground; that at first they said, the measure would effect all men in trade *directly*; but since that argument was done away by modification, it was said they would only suffer indirectly. To this I answer, 'Look at the resolutions of the meetings all over the metropolis. They all state, that no modification of the Bill can render it free from objection.' The resolutions of Southwark, before any modification was attempted, stated, that no modification could render the Bill tolerable.-- But it seems that some Gentlemen have the boldness to say, that this Bill is now a popular Bill. Supposing I should be extravagant enough to allow, that the Bill is not disliked any where but in the metropolis: The metropolis will be called upon to
pay

pay near one-fourth of the whole. Is it not a dreadful thing, taking it in this point of view, to pass a Bill like this against the unanimous opinion of the inhabitants of the metropolis. What is the language of this Money Bill? 'We give voluntarily.'—Who gives voluntarily? The People of the metropolis, who must pay a fourth of it? No—they have unanimously declared that they cannot give it at all! that if it is attempted to be levied upon them, their ruin will be the effect of it. The only answer that will be given me here is, that this horrible injustice is outdone by still more horrible injustice in France. Thus, the People are set to calculate, whether the French or English Governments will oppress them most. But, Sir, is it not lamentable, that we should be reduced to such a comparison?—*What!—is England only tolerable upon a comparison with France?*

Sir, I wish this House to be aware of the danger of alienating the affections of the People. I know the common answer to this has been, that I am encouraging the enemy by these observations. I have had some experience upon this species of artifice. It was applied to me in the course of the American War. Now I am told that I favour French invasion. Whether the French Directory see through this artifice, I neither know nor care. If they think there is any reliance to be placed on the discontents of the People of this country, I know where they have learned it; they learnt it from the writings of Mr. Burke, and from the Speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and also of those who publish to the world most gross calumnies, that every man who opposes any of the measures of the Minister is a friend to the French. The same line of argument has been used to prove that I depreciate our finances, for the same purposes. Upon this subject, Sir, I wish to know who has contributed most to depreciate our finances? I who have always stated them as they were, or the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, by this Bill, has made all the tax-gatherers in the kingdom publish, that so far from being able to pay this new assessment, the People were unable to pay the old ones?—This excites my indignation, because I am sure there is not the least foundation for it. I challenge the Minister to show a single instance in which I have guessed our expences one shilling below their amount. The Right Honourable Gentleman well knew his tribunal before he made the charge.

Sir, the modifications, only render the Bill more partial and intolerable; they throw more of the burthen on particular classes. If my neighbour cannot pay, I must pay for him: and the contribution may last five or six years instead of two, since,

AG

notwithstanding

notwithstanding all the modifications, fifteen millions must ultimately be raised.

Sir, Gentlemen have said, the present war is not like other wars, that it requires extraordinary resources. Hannibal has been much noticed in the discussion of this subject. He might have said to the Carthaginians, 'Give me such and such supplies, and I will put an end to the war. I will take the city of Rome and give you Peace.' Is that the case with us? After all our supplies, are we to be assured that Lord Hawkesbury would go to Paris and bring us home Peace.

The Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Dundas) says, that should the French come here, the struggle will be a short one. Sir, I hope the struggle will be a short one, if they do come; I hope also they may not come.

It has been urged by a Learned Gentleman, (Lawrence) that the French does not make generous warfare, that their war is now against our funds. But were the French the first to wage this *ungenerous* warfare? No—Three years ago the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in an elaborate speech, avowed that the war on our part was entirely against the funds of France: three years ago our *only* hopes of success were in the efficacy of this *ungenerous warfare*. The Right Honourable Gentleman then assured us, the French were in the very gulph of Bankruptcy; that there would soon be an end of their resources, and then we must triumph. The French now say the same thing of our resources; and I hope they will be as much deceived as the Right Honourable Gentleman has been. Sir, the Minister is fast hurrying us into the situation of France. There is no prospect of this being a short struggle; and what assurance have we that next year he will not demand another contribution greater than the present? What shall we do to avert these calamities?—*make Peace*. Peace is the only security against them.

Sir, to obtain Peace the present Administration must be dismissed, since they have shewn that its attainment is not within their power. But in answer to this it is asked, have they not done all in their power to obtain Peace? Into this question I will not enter at present, it would not be orderly to do so: I know I might have discussed it at the proper period, when the negotiation was considered by the House. Sir, for the sake of argument therefore, I will grant that the War has been just and necessary in the first instance, and that in the last negotiation the Ministers were perfectly sincere, and did their utmost for Peace; but then I ask, whether or not two or three years ago they might not have obtained Peace? Might they not have ob-
tained

tained it when Prussia was making Peace, when Spain was making Peace? It was at that time universally admitted that Peace might have been obtained. The Government of France was then very desirous of a general Peace. But at that time the Minister chose to take objections to the French Government, as being incapable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other powers. This incapacity on the part of France was stated as the principal, if not the only reason for continuing the War. Was France then less capable of maintaining those relations than she is at present? Did she not maintain them with all the neutral powers? Nay, had she not maintained them with America better at that time than at this? Her new system and popular impulse was then wholly pacific, and Peace might have been had. But Ministers took a capricious and false notion into their heads, that she was not able to maintain the relations of Peace and Amity; and it was for this false and capricious notion that the present horrible contribution was to be levied. Why am I fined and mulcted now to such an enormous amount? Not because the French wished to open the Scheldt in 1792, not because Lord Malmesbury was unsuccessful, but because the Minister chose to indulge his caprices, and to say that France was not capable of maintaining the relations of Peace and Amity. For those caprices I am now to be deprived of my carriage, of my horse, for them I must pay a heavy impost, for them I must abridge my comforts. Of this it is I complain. I complain it is the fault of Ministers we are not now at peace; I complain that this House indulges them in all their caprices; I complain that it is the fault of Ministers and of this House entirely that the present contribution is imposed; it is them the People have to thank for this enormous and oppressive burthen.

I wish, Gentlemen, *to consider* that this is *only the beginning of a new system*. If the present Administration shall be in power, the War will last a long time: we shall have no Peace; and we shall be again called upon for such contributions as the present. This was an alarming crisis. It called for unanimity and general exertion. I wish for unanimity; you profess to wish for the same. You say go over to you; I say come over to me: you say, but the majority is on our side in this place; I say this is not an infallible proof that you are not wrong; and a very great majority indeed out of doors is against you. But the best and the unanswerable argument for your coming over to me is, that you have supported a system and an Administration which have constantly fallen into mistakes and misfortunes. I have supported a system which, without arrogance, I may say has constantly been proved the wisest. But unanimity must not be obtained in this

Country

Country only ; it must be established in the whole British empire, it must be established in Ireland. How is this to be done ? By emancipating the Catholics, and making a Reform in Parliament ; by laying aside the system which has covered that Country with the most horrible executions, by ceasing to enforce a Government by terror. Then you may entrust that Country to its own natural defence ; then it will be defended by its own inhabitants against the enemy ; then you may reduce the enormous military expence of retaining it, which at present is incurred. Give the People their rights, and that will be the cheapest and the most secure defence of the Constitution. It is the harsh conduct of Government that makes so many persons hostile to the Constitution. I feel myself justified in saying there was no plot against the Constitution in 1792, or at least no plot to a dangerous extent. Judge Eyre said on the State Trials, that the partizans of the persons acquitted were without numbers, without money, and almost without zeal. Without these how could a dangerous plot exist ? But let Ministers take care that by coercion they do not engender plots. Let them not think outward quiet is proof of real tranquility.

I remember when Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled we predicted that in consequence great discontent and calamity would ensue in Ireland : an apparent quiet for some time after existed, and then we were triumphantly told our predictions had proved false. But who will now deny that our predictions have been most lamentably fulfilled. As it has happened in Ireland, so it will happen in this Country, if the present system is pursued. We may have tranquility at this time ; but we too in our turn will have commotions and military execution. I am still of opinion with Judge Eyre, that practical Republicans, persons wishing the overthrow of our Constitution, and the introduction of French principles, are neither numerous nor formidable ; but they are encreasing, and will continue daily to encrease, while the present men are in power, and while measures like the present are adopted. The best remedy is Peace, the best means of obtaining it is to restore to the People their rights. Change the King's Ministers, and give the People their rights, then you will command unanimity. Shew the enemy that you command unanimity, shew her you have regained the hearts of the People of Ireland, that the People of Britain are in heart with you ; display the beauties of the Constitution : you will then have the united efforts of the whole British Empire, and France will lose all hopes of assistance from Parliamentary Reformers in this Country, or from the discontented in Ireland. She will not only lose all hopes of succeeding in an attack upon either kingdom,

dom, but she will dread in her turn the attack of a brave and united People. She will then, no doubt, make Peace on reasonable terms. At present the oppressive conduct of Ministers and the discontent of the People are great temptations to induce her to continue the War. Shew the world that our Constitution does not consist merely of paper and packthread, that it can protect the People from bills of retribution, contribution, and confiscation, and the Country will be saved.

The History of Rome and Carthage has often been quoted during the debate. I would again allude to it. When Rome was exhausted by contributions to support a War, the Executive Government came forward the first to give up their wealth to support the State. They gave all but their gold ornaments necessary to distinguish their rank. But what is the case on the present occasion, when we are told the emergency is equal? Why, in this heavy contribution, the Head of the Executive Government, the Royal Family, is to be exempted? It is said this Bill will not add more to its power than any measure ever adopted. The payments are very peremptory; many men will want indulgence; it will be in the power of the tax-gatherers to grant or refuse it. Every man, in every parish, will be more or less in the power of the tax-gatherer. I will not say that Ministers will desire them to use that power; but thinking it will be agreeable to Government, they will harass or indulge, at pleasure, those who oppose or support Ministers.

Here Mr. Fox quoted Mr. Burke's writings, to shew how much more was to be had from the People by their own free will than against it; to shew how well taxation could be carried on, where there was a real or virtual representation of the People.

Sir, how can that be called a real or virtual representation, of which the Members are constituted by the purchase of persons contracting to make a certain number as the price of a Peerage? Let this House look at Ireland, where this system may be seen in all its most gross and odious colours. Mr. Grattan, in the Irish House of Commons, avowed, that Peerages were put up for sale, for seats in the Lower House of the Irish Parliament. — Can we be either the real or virtual Representatives of the People, if we pass such a Bill as the present, so contrary as it is to their will, and so oppressive in its tendency?

Sir, *I shall probably not again attend here for some time. But I know my Constituents will be satisfied with my retirement. I cannot hope to have much share in directing the judgment, and I do not wish to inflame the passions (as I am told) of the Members of this House.* No man's judgment is equal to the conduct of affairs in this crisis. If the Government will be secure it must

stand on a broad basis, the basis of the People. We must convince the People that we are struggling for them. This is best to be done by a substantial Reform of Parliament. Make the Constitution the Constitution of the People. This will be your best defence ; this will produce you seamen and soldiers ; this will procure you Ireland.

A CORRECT LIST of the MINORITY.

Anson, Thomas	Milner, Sir Wm.
Aubrey, Sir J.	Mainwaring, W. <i>Middlesex</i>
Astley, Jacob, <i>Norfolk</i>	Northey, Wm.
Biddulph, R. <i>Herefordshire</i>	North, D.
Barclay, George	Norton, Hon. General
Beaucherk, Charles	Nicholls, John
Barlow, H.	Plumer, Wm. <i>Herefordshire</i>
Bunbury, Sir T. C. <i>Suffolk</i>	Pierse, Henry
Bouverie, Hon. E.	Russell, Lord J.
Brogden, J.	Russell, Lord Wm. <i>Surrey</i>
Burdett, Sir F.	Rawdon, Hon. J.
Byng, George, <i>Middlesex</i>	Rawdon, Hon. G.
Burch, J. R.	Richardson, J.
Coke, T. W. <i>Norfolk</i>	Roberts, A.
Coke, E.	Scudamore, J.
Colhoun, William	Shum, Geo.
Cavendish, Lord G. H. <i>Derbyshire</i>	Shuckborough, Sir G. <i>Warwickshire</i>
Clayton, Sir R.	Sturt, Charles
Combe, H. C.	St. John, St. A. <i>Bedfordshire</i>
Copley, Sir L.	Sheridan, R. B.
Courteney, J.	Spencer, Lord Robert
Dennison, W. J.	Stanley, Lord
Dickenson, W. <i>Somersetshire</i>	Townshend, Lord J.
Edwards, Bryan	Tufts, Hon. Henry
Fletcher, Sir H. <i>Cumberland</i>	Tufts, Hon. J.
Folkes, Sir M. B.	Thompson, Thomas
Foley, Hon. A.	Tarleton, General
Fitzpatrick, Rt. Hon. Gen.	Taylor, William
Fox, Right Hon. C. J.	Tyrrwhitt, Thomas
Green, James	Tierney, George
Hare, James	Winnington, Sir Edward
Howard, Henry	Walpole, Hon. G.
Hussey, William	Walwyn, James
Jeffries, N.	Wigley, Edmund
Jervoise, C. J.	Wilson, R.
Knight, R. P.	Western, C. C.
Lemon, John	Vane, Sir F. F.
Langton, Gore, <i>Somersetshire</i>	

TELLERS.

Jekyll, Jos.

Smith, Wm.

on-
best
the
our
this

nick-